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SPEECH

OF

HON. W. H. WADSWORTH,

AT FLEMINGSBURG, KENTUCKY, JUNE 13, 1868.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: A small portion of the great Union people of the United States, we have met here to-day to choose our leaders, declare our faith, and give our reasons. The duty of speaking has devolved upon me. However much I may have wished to avoid that duty I have not been able to do so, and am here to-day to discharge it to the best of my ability.

We are here to ratify with great cheerfulness, "shut up in measureless content," the nomination of Grant and Colfax for President and Vice President of the United States. To ratify their nomination with the resolutions upon which they stand, promulgated by the Convention that presented their names to the people. To ratify their nomination as a testimony in some small degree of our gratitude to them for their distinguished services in the field and in the Legislature, in the great struggle with rebellion. We are here to ratify their nomination upon their well known public lives and history, because the names of Grant and Colfax are familiar as household words. One, the General of all the armies of the Union; the other, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and for many years of his life, though still a young man, holding a seat in the national Legislature.

I need not speak of General Grant to you, my fellow-citizens. The events in which he has been a conspicuous actor, and known throughout the world, are surely known to all of you, placing him beyond the reach of feeble calumny. Suffice it to say that coming up from the ranks of the people his whole life has been one of honesty, fidelity to duty, and patriotism to our common country, signalized in the two wars—the war with Mexico and the great war just terminated. In the providence of God it fell to his lot to play the foremost part in the suppression of the rebellion—excelling where all did well, leading the heroes to whom our gratitude is forever due.

We ratify their nominations because of the future services we expect at the hand of these nominees. We ratify their nomination, because of the confidence we have in their honesty, their ability, and their courage. We ratify their nomination, because hitherto they have always been successful, and the world demands success of its leaders. Merit, however great, is always topped by success.

A QUESTION OF VITAL IMPORTANCE TO KENTUCKIANS.

The deeply interesting question for us to answer is, how Union men of Kentucky are going to act in this contest? With reference, perhaps, to a larger portion of the Union body at least, there can be no question. They have always been in the front of the right wing of the Union party throughout this whole contest. But it is an interesting question with regard to another very respectable and influential body of Union men of this State to know what part they are going to take in this contest; where they will pitch their tent; where they will choose their company for the future, because things have proceeded in our State politics to the point where we must decide between what they call the Democratic party and the National Union Republican party. There are many persons of Union sentiments who think it the duty of the Union people of the State to give their support to the Democratic party, as they call it here in this Commonwealth of ours.

The very first task I propose to myself is to examine reasons why any of us should do so; and I propose to do this in a spirit of candor and frankness, but with respect toward the gentlemen who differ with me, and, I trust, with respect to that party itself.

The Democratic party of the United States governed this country for thirty years, almost without interruption. You are my witnesses that they misgoverned it. You are my witnesses that they sowed broadcast the seeds of the bloody harvest we reaped in the war just closed. You are my witnesses that this party, honored so beyond measure by a generous and confiding people, at last betrayed their trust, and broke this people in pieces by cruel and bloody war. For many years prior to 1860, the controlling element of the party had been molding public sentiment, and shaping the policy of the Government, with a view to secession and rebellion, striking so fatally to the people.

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When at last a majority of the people of the United States had got tired of being thus ruled, and elected to power a party opposed to the spread and rule of slavery, this same imperious power revolted against the only friend the institution had in the world—the Constitution of the United States. Giving up the support of this Constitution, with the Supreme Court and a majority of the Congress to back it, the rulers and upholders of the Democratic party for a generation revolted, drew the sword of civil war against the Union, the ideas and tendencies of the age, and the Father of men. For nearly thirty years the Democratic party had governed us here in the South with a rod of iron, in the sole interest of slavery, with a view to secession. This party organized a Presidential campaign in the interests of secession and rebellion, with Breckinridge as leader, that Douglas might be defeated or Mr. Lincoln more surely elected, having long before declared that if he was elected they would revolt and dissolve our Union. They destroyed their party to precipitate the destruction of their country. They went into the rebellion upon the fact of Mr. Lincoln's election, and the Democrats of the North, spurned and abandoned by their rebel allies, lost all power and influence in the country.

THE WAR AGAINST THE UNION.

War broke out, and all right-minded people, under the lead of Lincoln and Douglas, Crittenden and Guthrie, rose up to meet this daring attack upon the Union and the freedom and progress which it represented. The people everywhere rallied to the country's cause, and when 75,000 men were called for, above 300,000 came to the rescue. Now, at this time the Democratic party seemed to have been blotted from the political map. It had no existence till the anti-slavery policy of the Government was developed by the events of the war.

The Democratic party seized this opportunity to organize, and many of us in Kentucky, alarmed for the result, gave it our sympathy, regarding the Democrats of the North then in arms against their late leaders of the South, and thus friends to the Union and the war against rebellion, as friends also to the Constitution. We came to their aid speedily in the border States, and in the election in 1862 they elected members from nearly all the districts in some of the States, and came with a few votes of having the House of Representatives. At once the old leaders, with the old sympathies, championed the party, and began to declare their opposition to the war, in many ways throwing their influence into the scale on the side of the enemy. Instead of supporting the Government in the prosecution of the war, they pursued a policy evidently designed to stop and abandon it; of course there were many exceptions, but I speak of what I believe to be the real power of the party. The next Congressional elections were disastrous. The Presidential election came on.

They met in National Convention and nominated for President a worthy man, a soldier of the Union, once of great popularity, a gentleman always honorable in my eyes—I mean George B. McClellan. He was compelled to repudiate the party platform, and declare that the war for the Union must never be abandoned. But we were defeated. Notwithstanding such evident disgust by that party for the principles we cherished, still, with other portions of the Union people of the South, the Union Democracy of Kentucky gave its support to the Democratic party North throughout the war.

KENTUCKY REBELS AND THEIR NORTHERN ALLIES.

The war terminated at last, owing to the valor of our soldiers and the genius of our commanders—in spite of all opposition, covert and open—in favor of the Union. Now, mark what followed, you that have any hope of comfort or honor in the Democratic party. In Kentucky, men left the State and swore allegiance to a foreign, rebel power, but left their wives, sisters, daughters and property behind in our midst, under and to our protection; and these men continually invited and brought war around our firesides and in the midst of their own families, plundered our fields and stables, massacred our inhabitants and burned our towns; at last, conquered in battle, they returned to the homes they had abandoned. The Union party in power in the State of Kentucky, in a generous spirit, desirous of healing all the wounds of the body politic, and restoring a solid peace to our afflicted Commonwealth, forgave them all the penalties of the law, and restored to them the franchise.

They were scarcely warm in their seats before that same Legislature was urged, by ambitious aspirants among them, to call a State Convention. By a voice almost unanimous it refused to do so, pronouncing instinctively against its policy, for a reason they did not fully recognize at the time, but which must now be apparent, viz: In such a Convention, the sympathies of rebellion and those of Unionism would never harmoniously interflow and fuse together. If called there must be a disintegration of the heterogeneous elements that composed it. So the Convention was refused. Then these enfranchised rebels and their sympathizers who staid at home and lent their aid as they safely could, to divide the Union, called a State Convention, not of the Union Democratic

party that had voted for McClellan, but called a Democratic Convention proper of the men who were fresh from the rebellion, who had voted for Jefferson Davis, editors, ex-Congressmen and officers in the late rebel army, who had been for five years denouncing the Democratic party, while the Union men of Kentucky gave it their support, calling it very vile names indeed; who had been denouncing the Union and fighting it with fire and sword, and had declared if we would give them a sheet of blank paper on which to write their own terms, they would not live with us again. These people called a State Convention and made a nomination for clerk of the Court of Appeals, and county officers of pure unadulterated Democrats and opponents of the war.

Now was the time to test the fidelity of our late Democratic allies North; to test the sincerity of their sympathy with the Union men of the South, and the cause which they loved. We were entitled to their sympathy and support in this contest with those who came fresh and red from the criminal rebellion. Here was the crucial test which was to prove whether the Democracy of the North was a Union party and would support the Union Democratic party or the rebel Democratic party of Kentucky.

You know the result. We were deserted. The Democrats of the North would not go forward, and taught by the war to something better than the resolutions of '98 and slavery, they gave up the Union and the future; they embraced the past, and returned like a dog to his vomit. They entered the contest on the side of those who had been most conspicuous in the ranks of the enemies to the Union, and threw overboard, without remorse of conscience, those Union men who had stood by them in the hour of their difficulties.

The act signalized at once the inevitable sympathies of the Democratic party, North as well as South. The controlling power in that party through the war was opposed to it. While many of them, I gratefully remember, proved their devotion to the country in the legislative forum and by going into the field; but the real, vital, energetic forces in the party gave its sympathy to the war against the Union, denied the right of the Government to put down the rebellion, acknowledged the right of a State to secede, many denouncing the war as unholy; the editor of their most popular newspaper, exceeding the license of the press and the bounds of decency, even justified the assassination of the President of the United States, the kindest enemy that ever struck a foe and wept.

In this first opportunity to show whether for the future they would build their party upon a Union basis, or whether they would look to rebel sympathizers in the South for support, they repudiated true Union men, and took up with their adversaries.

It is a question, gentlemen, how far we who stood for the Union, will ever find for ourselves forgiveness and acceptance in a party controlled by our adversaries. But such considerations as these are of minor importance. If by giving our support to the Democratic party we could accomplish great public ends important to the welfare of the people; to do this we should be ready to sacrifice all personal considerations. The service demanded of us by this Democratic party of Kentucky, is indeed onerous and bitter. We must silence our sympathies for the Union cause and the men who sustained it. We must forget that those who died in the great battles, died honorably, in a good cause, and against a bad one. As to the living, we must forget their services in the war and what is due to them, preferring those who fought for the rebellion. We must forget their generous zeal, and the great provocations that prompted to any excess they may have committed, and while we exaggerate the one, we must overlook the other. We must not recall rebel atrocities, assassinations of unarmed citizens, the slaughter and starvation of prisoners, the burning of houses, towns, Court Houses, fair grounds, &c., but pass that over. All this we must be required to do and *must* do when we join that party. We must fetch and carry for it, thankful for a smile or a crumb, and be ready above all to lick the feet that kick us.

IDEAS HELD BY DEMOCRATS.

I will speak, then, with your indulgence, upon the ideas upon which the Democratic party intend to administer the affairs of 40,000,000 of people, *now* soon to be 100,000,000.

What are their ideas of the rights of men? Upon what principles would they build the future? The idea of the Democratic party is that one man should have the right to buy and sell another, that they should have the right to buy and sell women and children, to sell the husband away from the wife, the child from its mother. These are their ideas, and they are persecuted men if you deny them the exercise of these rights. Their idea is that the late enemies of the United States in the rebel States are entitled to exclusive political power and privileges therein by laws made to secure the same, and that you have established a despotism if you require them to be shared equally with loyal men.

With regard to emancipation and reconstruction, the party has no equivocal record. It is opposed to these measures, thinks them wrong. Now, if the people give the party power, what will they do for us to correct

these wrongs? Will they repeal reconstruction, turn out the States, and give the power to the rebels therein exclusively? And as to emancipation, will they pay us for our slaves, or, as some boast, re-enslave the blacks? If their opposition to these *facts* is to be made effectual and means anything, it means this: If they cannot undertake these tasks we should not look to that party to save us from negro suffrage, or to make us compensation for our losses. The question is already decided without me; you may say in spite of me.

If we must join the Democratic party to get relief from negro suffrage, it must be because we expect them in some way to undo what has been done. Some of us have large expectations from the Democratic party in the work of reaction. We expect, I believe, the public debt to be repudiated. Our slaves, too, are not hopelessly lost. With regard to that species of personal property, we may perhaps have to realize the expectations of a very distinguished gentleman not very far from Flemingsburg who, while they were rejoicing over the last fall election in Ohio, instructed his friends just to keep still, that they would get their niggers back yet.

In examining what Union men are to expect at the hands of the Democracy, I speak not of the finances, though that is a deeply interesting subject; but you and I know that here and now we are principally concerned in knowing what are the ideas that are to govern this present and that great future that looms up before us. What shall the generations of the future have to thank or to curse us for? What are the principles that are in the future to interpret the rights of the citizens of the United States? What shall become of the declaration of our fathers promulgated in 1776, that "All men are born free and equal, endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights"—rights which they have no right to part with—the basis upon which this Government is to be restored and maintained, is the deeply interesting subject here in Kentucky.

WILL THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY STAY THE ONWARD MARCH OF TRUTH AND JUSTICE?

Now, if we give the Democratic party power in this country for the next four years, what do they propose to do in that event with regard to the rebel States restored to the Government? If they elect their candidate he will be installed into power in 1869. I ask what would be the state of things which would confront them when they should thus attain power. This Union will be restored, built up, upon principles of right or wrong, as you may believe, but built solidly, compactly, every State with a constitution, a government, Legislature, judicial and executive officers: with Senators and Representatives in Congress, admitted by the party governing the nation, and recognized and in full operation. With this restoration of the Union, for which the people have organized so long, completely accomplished; restored, if you please, upon equal rights to all and exclusive privilege to none staring them in the face, what will they do?

That state of things will meet them in 1869. It has been done; freedom to the black man, and the ballot to guard it, has already been given to him in the rebel States. He already votes; he already makes Constitutions; he already helps make Governors, Legislators and Congressmen, in ten States of the Union. He has done it in Tennessee for more than two years. He will do it, though every man and woman in Kentucky rise up and swear he shall not do it.

Now, when they get into power, will they turn these ten States out of the Union? Will they get up a counter revolution, and turn these Governors out, the Legislatures out, and expel from Congress their Senators and members? Will they then pass reconstruction bills with suffrage upon a white basis, making this a white man's Government instead of a Government of the Lord God of Heaven for all men? Will they do it? I put it to Democrats not only in Kentucky, but I put it to Democrats in the North. These people who call themselves Democrats in Kentucky are ready for anything. If an opportunity presented itself, they would fight again for the Confederacy and for slavery. But I put it to the Democrats of the whole country. If my feeble voice could reach them I would appeal to them (some of them I know are patriotic and worthy men.) Will you break up this Union thus built up, because you do not like the manner in which it has been built up? *Will you break it up, not to enlarge the rights of mankind, not to establish the doctrine made possible by the war, that one class of men have no right to rule another class of men, not to declare that all men are created free and equal, but to go back over the dreary waste of the civil war, to the worn out shams of the past? Now, a party engaged in this business of pulling down Constitutions and expelling States would be laboring not to extend suffrage, but to restrict it; not to strengthen the bonds of the Union, but to put the political power of these States in the hands of the enemies of the Union.* You would not do it to afford the soldiers who fought the battles of the Union the means of protection, or to give them power to hold in check those who fought against it? Now, if these are the issues upon which this campaign is to be fought, let them write it in the platform, make their nominations upon it, and put it fairly before the people.

I have proclaimed, and yet proclaim, that when this Union is restored I shall accept the work whether I like it or not; but surely I shall never be so untrue to the American idea as to make war upon a restored Union because it is too liberal and democratic. Rather, with ample faith in the American people, and genuine love toward them, go to work and build upon whatever ground is given us to build upon. I will never embark with any party in a revolution to break up the restored Union.

Therefore, my friends and fellow-citizens, when General Grant in his letter of acceptance—although modest, noble, and worthy of him—says "let us have peace," this sentence is full of pregnant meaning; it means that the acceptance and protection of a restored Union founded on that broad basis of equal rights to all and exclusive privileges to none, is the only means and hope of peace.

Why, then, should I and the Union men of Kentucky embark our fortunes with the Democratic party of Kentucky, or their allies elsewhere, who would restrict the basis of suffrage in the ten States, and give exclusive political power to gentlemen in the South who, for thirty years, ruled the country only to betray and ruin it? Do I wish the restoration of that party in the South which built up a despotic public sentiment; that repressed all freedom of thought and speech and every generous emotion common to the heart of mankind, and kept our society crystalized in forms that belonged to the far past; that made the interests of the white masses subordinate to the institution of slavery; a party that persecuted every liberal statesman, North and South—men like Henry Clay, for instance—because they were not willing to repress their love of freedom.

Do we want that Democratic leadership back here again, to go through the scenes we have gone through? Ah! forsake such a thought. The Southern leaders and their ideas belonged to the past. We cannot call them back. Shall we fight against Jehovah, the Lord of Hosts, whose words are down on us, saying, "I will rule. If you will help me, well and good: if not, without you." Shall I do it? No: I have had my mind made up distinctly for two years that I would not do it, that I was wrong in trying to persuade myself it was my duty to do it. I know no useful function the Democratic party can perform, except to disband—or advance.

EXPERIENCE IN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

I have had a little experience (all have had,) and it opened my eyes. The organization is against us, Union men. We are not of it. Try it, you will know it at last. It will use you, humiliate you and throw you aside. It has persecuted our brethren everywhere throughout the State; turned them out of office; put Confederates over them, and only because they were Confederates. They rejected and overslaughed Union men in the Democratic party of Kentucky; were Conservatives—Conservative enough, Heaven knows. The only stain upon their record was, they had been for the war against rebellion; this, their chief honor, marred all their fortunes.

Day by day we have seen Unionism under the persecutions of this party decline, till now it is much reproach to have stood for our Government. We could bear it for ourselves; O Union men, but we have friends fallen in the great battle, and for their sakes, since they were dear to us, we would have their cause forever honorable. I had some, laid low by criminal brothers' hands, that I must lament even with my heart. They rise up before me now; I see them as once I saw them instinct with life, walking with fronts erect in our midst—but, no, I shall never again see them. They have fallen with their faces to Heaven and their feet to the foe, in the great battle for Liberty and Union, one and inseparable, now and forever. I cannot therefore see any duty which calls me to the Democratic ranks—all that is within me persuades me otherwise.

I have broken long since with the party which does not acknowledge Union sympathies. I quit it for the National Union Republican party, and shall vote for my schoolmate, the soldier of the Union, Gen. Grant, and for Schuyler Colfax, whom I never did vote for when I had the opportunity; I quit it to stand upon the Declaration of Independence; I quit it to help give to every man in the country the same privileges under the law claimed for myself.

I was opposed in part to the great work, and it was done without my consent and *against* my consent. At last I opened my eyes to the magnitude of the work and the facts before me. Will you condescend to do that, my friends? Will you lay aside passion and prejudice and reason one with another? Will you look at all that has happened in this country? Do you suppose God Almighty meant nothing by such a conflict as we have passed through? All that great fermentation of ideas that resulted in war and baptized our land in blood—did it mean nothing? Has it done nothing? Are we where we started? *We are to-day a thousand years away from the age that preceded the war.* The child scarce able yet to syllable its mother tongue was born under the old order of things, *and which he will never see again.*

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

But I come now to an affair that concerns us as citizens of Kentucky chiefly,

We have proceeded from the thirteenth Constitutional amendment abolishing slavery, to the fourteenth amendment. It is now a fixed and certain thing that there is no escape from the fourteenth Constitutional amendment. If it has not already been adopted by States enough to make it a part of our Constitution, it will be in a few weeks, perhaps in a few days. The Senate is just now about to pass what is called the Omnibus bill, which admits six Southern States to representation in the Union, which, with Arkansas and Tennessee, making eight.—These States are required by the law recognizing them to ratify the fourteenth amendment; and it therefore will be the law of the land after the lapse of a few weeks.

This great measure equalizes the power of the voter in all the States, declares sacred the obligations of the nation created in its defense; prohibits the payment of the rebel debt and compensation for emancipated slaves, and establishes the equality of citizenship by birth and naturalization. Let us examine into its effect upon the representation of the States.

The number of blacks in the Southern States in 1860 was about 4,000,000. Let us say that the war has kept that population stationary. We will start with a basis in 1870 of 480,000 blacks. This will not be at their former rate of increase, as the blacks do not thrive as fast in freedom as in slavery. By a comparison of statistics, we find that their increase in the future can not be put at more than fifteen per cent. in ten years, instead of twenty-three per cent., the rate of increase in ten years previous to the war. So in 1900, we would have about 6,500,000 blacks in the South, all represented save in Kentucky. We had in Kentucky, in 1860, 236,000, which will give us in 1900 about 364,000. The ratio of the number of blacks in Kentucky, in my opinion, increases instead of diminishes, as they come in from other States.

Let us, gentlemen, be a little candid. Is not universal suffrage already here? Is there any power on the face of the globe that can roll it back? Does not the tide set that way all over the world? The African in ten States holds the ballot; it would be just as easy to enslave him again as to take the ballot away from him. What party will undertake the work?

Why abuse me? These are the facts—I did not make them; I cannot claim any part of the credit the world awards the doers. Mine only be the modest merit that recognizes the work when done, and comprehends, in part, its magnitude, and the high meaning it symbolizes.

A RESOLUTION IN FAVOR OF THE POOR.

I take it for granted therefore, my fellow-citizens, that whatever party comes into power in 1869, the basis of representation of these States has been permanently changed. The importance of being fully represented according to the weight of our population in that Congress which declares war, makes peace, levies enormous taxes, and disposes of the great business of the nation will address itself with force to the minds and consciences of reflecting prudent men everywhere in the State. Whoever can show a hope for a different state of things for the future, (if he dare call it a hope,) would have hoped on at the Deluge after all the world was in the sea. Let us take comfort; the revolution that has occurred means peace and progress, because it means Liberty and Justice. It is not a revolution in favor of the patrician or privilege of the strong and powerful, the rich and titled, but in favor of the poor, the humble and the ignorant; the veriest poor and ignorant of our people —God's poor.

I have long sought of the best men and minds I know in our State, an answer to the question—how are the States filled with a large black population, to take that people out of the hands and away from the influence of outside peoples, and make them friends of the State for peace and for war?

I get no answer. Southern statesmanship is afraid and silent. *There is but one answer; give the black man every reason for loving the Commonwealth, the mother of us all, that any other citizen has, and he will vote her ticket and fight her battles.*

But now? Why little South Carolina has three-fifths of her people for a foe that looks beyond her brother for friends, hope and protection. She's but a bogus Commonwealth while this lasts, paralyzed in peace and war. Why, the rebels were fools to get up a rebellion before they had made friends with nearly half their people. If they ever wish to rebel hereafter, they must first get the black man on their side. In their brave but utterly stupid struggle for independence, they had over four millions of enemies in their midst. They saw their assailants using this element, and still had not the wit or courage to emancipate and arm them. It said some of their captains saw the necessity and called for the measure. But the petty politicians of Richmond, dwarfed in the presence of events too great for them, could not see it, and so went down under the blows of Grant, clinging to the rags of slavery. The lesson was not new. States that do not rest on a united people must fall. The ten States already have peace on the negro questions. He is a voter, in numbers sufficient to command respect. The political parties, under a necessity to win the voter's favor quit calling each other Abolitionists, and only

strive to convince the black man of the interest they *always* took in his welfare. Negroes make good Democratic delegates in Tennessee, and the party (though beaten) was very proud of a few thousand black votes obtained in the recent Georgia elections. Great is the black man in the eyes of the Democrats in Georgia and Tennessee, when found in the ranks of his party.

REGENERATED REBELS.

And, my friends, the rebels never will be converted until the day shall come when they shall have to ask the black man to help them to get into office. When that time comes the rebellion will be over, because it will be unpopular, and men aspiring for office will keep in the background, the fact that they served the lost cause. They will then do what others are now doing who were engaged in this work; confess their faults and ask forgiveness. When that day comes I trust it will not be so difficult for a man to perceive the value and magnitude of the truth, that he should be willing to allow every other man the same privileges he claims for himself, however nigh or low, rich or poor, that man may be, of whatever race or color; not to perceive that other truth, that a State which deals out impartial justice is alone truly prosperous and secure—that such a State then can have no enemy in the bosom of its society, and is equally secure against foreign enemies or domestic treason.

But it is said there are other reasons why a Union man in Kentucky cannot ally himself with the National Union Republican party and support Gen. Grant for the Presidency. Because, in fact, they are Radicals in favor of radical measures, and Union men must join the Democratic party to put down Radicals.

Talk about voting down Radicalism!—Gentlemen, Radicalism is the greatest success of modern times. It fought the biggest battles, took more prisoners, subdued the bravest men and the greatest numbers of them, that was ever done in any age or country. With a bankrupt Treasury, inherited from its opponents, it knew how to raise not less than six or seven thousand millions of dollars, and fought a rebellion to its death, with nearly half the country in revolt against it, after every defeat rising in unshaken faith that Almighty God ruled the destiny of the United States to higher issues; they raised armies of millions of men: and while meeting with defeat after defeat, embarrassed by opposition at home and mocked by the rulers and nobles of Europe, its courage rose still higher, to the day of complete victory. While the struggle raged, it emancipated 5,000,000 of people, calling a race to life and liberty—a fact that will be luminous while the memory of the race remains among men. Do you think this Radicalism could be scared by the eternal devil? When Hannibal, after Cannae, encamped at the gates of the city, the Romans put up for sale in the forum the ground under their feet: So the men who conquered the rebellion, while it was yet exulting over the defeat of Bull Run, opened the Treasury and built up the Capitol, higher and broader, for the future Congress of the Union.

"With charity for all and malice toward none, with faith in the right as God gives to see the right," let us go on with this Union cause; let us keep the standard of our faith full high advanced, marching under it with confidence while carried in the hands of its greatest Captain. Let us not desert that cause and run after that cold and barren feast to which the Democratic party has invited us. This political organization, like the institution of slavery, is worn out and broken in pieces.

TRUTH TO PROGRESS.

We are to advance to newer and better issues. A true Democratic party will always be respected in the eyes of the lovers of the people, because the lovers of the people reverence God the Father of the people; that God who makes no distinction between them. When they come to His heaven, redeemed by the blood of His Son, who died for all, it will not matter whether they were white or black, or to what race they belonged. They will be good enough for God.

This Government of ours has held out to the world the principles of the Declaration of Independence, that all men are born free and equal. But you know how fashionable it had become, in latter times, to say this birthright belonged only to white men. It was even fashionable in some places to read it "all *white* men," etc. But our fathers meant by it *all* men. In Europe it is all men born of certain families that have the right to freedom and equality. For the Englishman it is the Queen who derives her right from God to govern the nation, and transmits it to her children: next to her, it is the nobles: next to the nobles, some fellow who has made a fortune selling soap and tar, and who is only ambitious (like Edmund About's Frenchman) to marry his daughter into a family that has done no work for four hundred years. The idea is held, there, that the mass of mankind are too ignorant to enjoy the right of suffrage. But the true American idea is that suffrage is not the due of intelligence; not the due of race, wealth, &c., but knowing no practical test by which we can confine it to the virtuous and intelligent alone, that it is the due of all the people.

The masses of mankind are what might be called ignorant, they have no "book larnin," they have not been to college, a

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great many cannot read and write; but the masses of mankind, however ignorant, love their country, work for it, fight for it, *die* for it. They are as true to-day as the intelligent portions of the community. Intelligence alone is not a sufficient security for the person that casts the ballot. Lucifer was not wanting in intelligence; he was the brightest of the sons of God, and he rebelled. Jeff. Davis and Breckinridge were not wanting in intelligence, and they committed treason against their country and against mankind.

Those things which will govern best in every land, are virtue and intelligence; but there is no plan by which you can secure them unless you let every person vote, save those guilty of crime. Show me how you will get all the virtue and intelligence without embracing all the people, and I will give up my right to vote. He that loves his country, however ignorant, will find out how to vote right. If he makes a mistake to-day he will correct it to-morrow. To say that where equality prevails, virtue and intelligence will be less powerful than vice and ignorance, is to say I have no faith in God, and to forget that God and the race never die; that He employs men simply to work out His designs, consciously or unconsciously, willing or unwilling. It forgets, too, that vice has no power, except it wears the mask of virtue. "Hypocrisy is the homage which vice pays to virtue," let us remember.

FRUITS OF LIBERTY AND UNION IN 1900.

What are to be the fruits which peace, born of liberty and justice, shall bear to this land when the year 1900 dawns upon it, we do not know at large, but only in part perceive.

There then will be in this broad land of ours, according to the progress shown by the census of the past, 100,000,000 of people. Some 7,000,000 of these people will be blacks. This vast population are to occupy this country from the Atlantic shore to the Pacific. They are to be the foremost people on the face of the globe, greater in real population, greater in wealth, greater in the magnitude and number of their cities, in the number and extent of their farms, and in agricultural improvements, in manufactures and commerce; in all material signs of progress and power than any nation of the past. So much for material progress. But what of the spiritual progress of so great and rich a people, all free, and equal, under laws formed by the spirit of justice, sustained by the consent of all? It would require the inspiration and the tongue of St. John to draw that picture. This black race which will have grown to 7,000,000, will have relatively decreased; instead of being in the proportion of four or five millions in 40,000,000, as now, they will have decreased to 7,000,000 in 100,000,000. But a few generations will show that the superior capacity of the white race will grow it out as surely as the blue grass under your feet grows out "the trefoil clover."

All that is needed to ensure this result is peace, liberty and justice, under a government administered with economy.

Under the operation of these principles there can be no disfranchised class. The men engaged in rebellion constitute a class. Sooner or later every rebel must have the same privileges under the laws granted to all others. Yes these privileges must be extended even to those who took part in the rebellion. It should not, cannot be long withheld from them.

A HEAVY CONTRACT.

The work of putting down the Radical party which, it is said can be done by our joining the Democratic party, is a very large contract. This Radical party crushed a Radical rebellion—the greatest piece of Radicalism I know anything of—which but for Radicalism would have broken up our country, stopped her progress and carried us back again to the ideas of the feudal ages. While this Radicalism was putting down this rebellion, it finished the Capitol, reared its dome to the skies, and placed upon it the statue of Liberty, all golden this day with the beams of this June sun. When that year 1900 shall dawn, other wings with other domes perhaps still grander, will have been added to accommodate the Congress of these United States.

I believe that future generations, who enjoy these blessings of liberty and equality in that day, will look back with pride upon those who stood by the Government of the United States in these days of trial and chief among soldier braves they will single out for praise Ulysses S. Grant. Our love toward the whole people, and our faith in the Father of men impels us to the standard of the Union. The success of the principles it represents is not doubtful.

They may not triumph to-day, nor in Kentucky, but to-morrow and elsewhere, and here at last, they *will* triumph. Truth has all the years of God to fight her battles. And the battle once begun, "though baffled oft, is ever won." Though you and I may not live to see the perfect day of liberty and justice, hope and work; for the one, it is said, is simply faith in God; and the other, worship. What though *we* die, humanity will survive while the earth lasts; the individual perishes, but the race is immortal. But in this present contest we have a cause and a leader hitherto triumphant. We do not doubt but that the banner which Grant now bears will be carried to final victory in November, securing to us and to our posterity a lasting peace.

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